

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 13676

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CGEN, CVIS, UR, US

SUBJ: SAN FRANCISCO STAFFING LEVEL DISPUTE

REF: A. STATE 225031; B. LENINGRAD 1477

1. OF OPTIONS MENTIONED IN PARA 4 REFTTEL, WE BELIEVE THAT
NONE, USED ALONE, WILL SOLVE PROBLEM TO OUR SATISFACTION

WITHOUT A PAINFUL CONFRONTATION ON THE ONE HAND OR GRAVE
WEAKENING OF THE STAFFING FORMULA ON THE OTHER. OPTION C
WOULD APPEAR A PRESCRIPTION FOR THE INDEFINITE CONTINUATION
OF THE PRESENT UNSATISFACTORY SITUATION: SOVIETS CAN LIVE
WITH A STATIC LEVEL IN SAN FRANCISCO EASIER THAN WE CAN GET
ALONG WITHOUT TDYERS IN LENINGRAD. PROBLEM WITH OPTION G
IS THAT IT IS UNDISGUISED RETREAT FROM STAFFING FORMULA
UNDER PRESSURE. THOUGH THE FORM OF THIS PRESSURE WAS
UNFORTUNATELY NOT PREDICTED IN APRIL (THE EMBASSY WAS NOT
AWARE OF THE PLANNED VOLUME OF TDY VISITS TO LENINGRAD,
NOR OF THE FACT THAT THE SOVIETS WERE SENDING FEW TDY'S TO
SAN FRANCISCO), THE FACT THAT THERE WOULD BE HEAVY PRESSURE
FOLLOWING KORNIYENKO'S DEMARCHE WAS CELAR. AS THE EMBASSY
POINTED OUT AT THE TIME (MOSCOW 5530), ANY ADDITIONAL
FLEXIBILITY WHICH WE MIGHT WISH TO INTRODUCE INTO THE
FORMULA SHOULD HAVE BEEN DONE IN RESPONSE TO INITIAL
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DEMARCHE. IF WE CHOSE AT THAT TIME TO HOLD FAST, WE SHOULD

HAVE BEEN PREPARED TO CONTINUE TO DO SO DESPITE PRESSURE.
(BY LATE MAY, THE SOVIETS IN FACT SIGNALLED THAT THEY WERE
FOCUSSING ON TDY'S-MOSCOW 7172.)

2. WE BELIEVE, FURTHERMORE, THAT IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO
ALLOW THE SOVIETS TO CONTINUE TO CONFINE SKIRMISH TO
TERRAIN OF THEIR OWN CHOOSING (THE SAN FRANCISCO-LENINGRAD
CONTEXT). THE FACT OF THE MATTER IS THAT WE HAVE BEEN
QUITE FORTHCOMING IN ALLOWING THEM TO ACQUIRE PROPERTY IN
NEW YORK, EVEN IN THE FACE OF UNSATISFACTORY PROPERTY OFFERS
IN KIEV. THEY HAVE A BUILDING IN NEW YORK, WHILE WE HAVE
NOT EVEN LOCATED ONE IN KIEV WHICH WE ARE SURE WE CAN USE.
IN ADDITION TO PERMISSION TO ACQUIRE BUILDING, THEY HAVE BEEN
ALLOWED TO ASSIGN PEOPLE THERE WITHOUT ANY RECIPROCAL
GESTURE WHATEVER. THEY CONTINUE TO MISUSE SMUN TO PERFORM
COMMERCIAL AND CONSULAR FUNCTIONS, AND ENJOY APPARENTLY
UNRESTRICTED TDY TRAVEL TO NEW YORK. THIS SITUATION WOULD
SEEM TO OFFER CONSIDERABLE POTENTIAL FOR LEVERAGE IF WE
CHOOSE TO EXERT IT.

3. WITH THESE CONSIDERATIONS IN MIND, AND RECOGNIZING THE
URGENT NEED TO SOLVE RATHER THAN EXACERBATE THE PROBLEM,
WE WOULD SUGGEST AN APPROACH ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES,
WHICH COMBINES SEVERAL OF THE OPTIONS MENTIONED:

A. INFORM SOVIETS THAT THEIR ATTITUDE ON TDY TRAVEL TO
LENINGRAD IS IN OUR VIEW UNJUSTIFIED, PARTICULARLY SINCE
MOST OF IT IS RELATED TO PUTTING THE BUILDING IN FULL
OPERATING CONDITION, OR TO COVERING THE JOB OF REGULAR
OFFICERS WHILE THEY ARE AWAY.

B. STATE THAT WE CANNOT TOLERATE THE INDEFINITE
CONTINUATION OF THIS SITUATION WITHOUT ADJUSTING SOME OF
OUR POLICIES FROM WHICH THE SOVIETS DERIVE THE BALANCE OF
ADVANTAGE. OPTIONS B PLUS D, ALONG WITH POSSIBLE LIMITATIONS
ON NON-UN TDY TRAVEL TONNEW YORK, SHOULD BE CITED AS A
LIKELY REACTION IF THE IMPASSE CANNOT BE SOLVED.

C. SAY, HOWEVER, THAT WE HAVE NO DESIRE TO BRING ABOUT
A SITUATION BY WHICH BOTH SIDES WOULD SUFFER AND WHICH
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WOULD BE INCONSISTENT WITH THE GENERAL STATE OF OUR RELATIONS.
WE ARE, THEREFORE, PREPARED TO DISCUSS SERIOUSLY THE
RESPECTIVE STAFFING LEVELS, CURRENT AND PLANNED, AT OUR
CONSULATE GENERALS, IN AN ATTEMPT TO OBTAIN AN EQUITABLE
SOLUTION.

4. HERETOFORE, SOVIETS HAVE RESISTED FORTHRIGHT DISCUSSION
OF RESPECTIVE STAFFING LEVELS, HOLDING THAT EACH SIDE

SHOULD HAVE RIGHT TO DECIDE THIS UNILATERALLY. HOWEVER, IF THEY CAN BE BROUGHT TO DISCUSS MATTER, EVEN IN GENERAL TERMS, IT WOULD NOT BE UNREASONABLE TO INDICATE TO THEM (1) THAT WE PLAN SOME EXPANSION IN THE FUTURE; AND (2) TO INDICATE OUR READINESS TO ADD ONE OR TWO PERSONS TO OUR BASE FIGURE AS A REFLECTION OF THE WORK PERFORMED AT POST BY TDYERS.

5. IN SUM, WE THINK THERE IS SCANT CHANCE OF SOLVING THIS IMMEDIATE PROBLEM AND AVOIDING FUTURE ASSAULTS ON STAFFING FORMULA (AND PERHAPS OTHER RECIPROCAL ARRANGEMENTS) UNLESS WE ARE WILLING TO THREATEN CREDIBLY CURTAILMENTS ON SOVIET ACTIVITIES IN BOTH SAN FRANCISCO AND NEW YORK. IF WE ARE UNWILLING OR UNABLE TO DO THIS, WE SHOULD HAVE NO ILLUSIONS THAT WE CAN PRESERVE THE FORMULA OVER THE LONG RUN: EVERY TIME THE SOVIETS DECIDE THEY NEED A FEW EXTRA PEOPLE, THEY WILL SIMPLY START TO SQUEEZE SOMEWHERE THEY CONSIDER US VULNERABLE UNTIL WE RELENT A LITTLE MORE. WE BELIEVE THAT THE APPROACH OUTLINED IN PARAS 3 AND 4 COMBINES THE THREAT OF A HEFTY STICK WITH A MODICUM OF CARROT, AND THOUGH WE CANNOT BE CERTAIN THAT IT WILL WORK WITHOUT A PAINFUL CONFRONTATION WE BELIEVE THERE IS A REASONABLE CHANCE IT WILL -- PROVIDED WE ARE FULLY PREPARED IF NECESSARY TO INVOKE COUNTERMEASURES PAINFUL TO THE SOVIETS.
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